



Investigative report of
Samkwang Science & Technology Co., Ltd.

December 5, 2013



中国劳工观察
CHINA LABOR WATCH



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Primary ethical and legal violations at Samkwang

- The factory does not pay workers at least \$84,000 in overtime pay every month, more than \$1 million per year unpaid wages.
- Hiring discrimination against men, people over 39 years of age, long or colored hair, ethnic minorities, and pregnant women. These restrictions violate Chinese law.
- The majority of workers are dispatch workers, far in excess of the 10 percent limit currently being formulated by the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security.
- Workers are charged fees by dispatch companies to be hired by Samkwang.
- Two-hour pre-work training is perfunctory and far short of the 24-hour legal minimum required for each worker.
- Workers do not receive a copy of pre-work physical exam; no physical exam after resigning to check for harmful effects of work.
- Workers required to fill in contracts according to a template provided by the factory.
- The factory does not provide maternity insurance as required by law.
- Workers do anywhere from 86 to 148 hours of monthly overtime, two to four times in excess of the 36-hour statutory limit.
- Workers must work at an intense rate for 10 to 11 hours per day, assembling one Samsung cell phone case every four seconds.
- Regular verbal abuse of workers by factory management, including forcing workers to write self-criticisms, humiliating workers, and using insulting language.
- Overcrowded and poorly maintained dormitories with eight to 10 people per room.
- Lack of effective grievance channels. There no worker representatives, union, or worker hotline.
- Underage workers (from 16 to 18 years old) and student workers complete the same work and working hours as adults. Student workers' schools take students' wages and only return a few hundred RMB in pocket money.
- Many workers are required to work barefoot for the entire shift, including when in production facilities with cold floors and dirty restrooms.
- The factory conditions are so unacceptable to workers that on some production lines at Samkwang, up to 10 additional workers are kept as reserves to replace workers who quit during the middle of the day.

- Lack of safety training despite working with hazardous chemicals every day.
- Machines and fire extinguishers are not properly inspected.
- Narrow stairwells to and from production facilities are a safety hazard, and there are no fire safety exits or emergency instructions in some production facilities.
- The factory punishes workers with fines, a violation of the Chinese State Council's "Regulations on Labor Security Supervision".
- It is so difficult to resign formally that most workers will simply leave without receiving due wages.
- Factory cafeteria and facilities unsanitary and not well maintained.
- Lack of environmental protection. The factory does divide its waste by type, waste water is discharged into a nearby ditch, and pungent smoke is expelled from the painting department.

Factory Profile

Samkwang Science & Technology Co., Ltd. (hereinafter “Samkwang”) is a wholly foreign-owned company invested by Samkwang (Korea) in China. Samkwang has a large-scale of operations, with five factories in Korea and four manufacturing plants overseas, including one each in Vietnam and Brazil and two in the Yinhu Industrial Park of Xiegang Town in Dongguan, China. Dongguan Samkwang, as a partner of Samsung (Huizhou), was founded on March 19, 2009. Samkwang mainly designs, develops, and manufactures products for Samsung, including cell phones, precision injection products, and plastic electronic parts. During the period of this investigation, there were more than 5,000 employees at Samkwang. The factory has 13 departments, three branch manufacturing plants, and two canteens.

Company Address: Yintai 3rd St., Yinhu Industrial Park, Xiegang Town, Dongguan City, Guangdong Province.

Phone Number: 0769-82121896-104 (Personnel Department)

Recruitment

Recruitment Channels

The line operators at Samkwang are all recruited through labor dispatch companies and labor markets. They are divided into three groups: temporary workers, dispatch workers, and formal workers. None of the workers interviewed for this investigation know how the groups are divided, and the factories never offered an explanation about this division. However, based on the management’s different attitudes towards workers, the treatment of formal workers is better than that

of the other groups of workers. This division is embodied on workers’ factory IDs after they are admitted into the factory. For instance, “Formal Worker” or “Samkwang” is printed at the bottom right corner of a formal worker’s ID. (Currently, the ID includes “Formal Worker” instead of “Samkwang”, which was used in the past.) But dispatch workers and temp workers IDs contain the names of their respective dispatch companies (e.g., Anshi,



Yuantong, Lihua, Juren, Fangzheng, and Daqin). Dispatch workers who perform well during the first three months may be able to become formal workers after submitting an application and receiving a team leader recommendation. Temporary workers are paid by days worked and they don't have an opportunity to become formal workers. Different from formal workers whose wages are paid by the company, temp workers and dispatched workers are paid by their labor dispatch companies.

Basic Hiring Requirements

The company hires only female workers. While it doesn't hire male workers independently, a female and a male can be recruited together. The recruited workers are limited to an age between 16 and 40. The company doesn't consider minority workers with special customs or pregnant women. Although these requirements are not evidenced by written documents, interviewers usually follow these standards during interviews. For example, CLW has witnessed an interviewer refusing to hire a person from a minority group and an interviewer inquiring whether or not a woman was pregnant. (Pictures of the interviews and the interviewers are provided. Please see the detailed introduction and attached figure in the recruitment process section.)

Recruitment Process

There are many labor agents and labor dispatch companies who set up stalls around the Dongguan Yinhu Industrial Park. Once a person tells them his name, gives them his ID card, and registers his phone number, these staffing companies will bring him to Cafeteria One of Samkwang at 9:00 am or 2:00 pm for hiring. Before the worker is recruited, he is required to fill out several forms, including an entry application, community evaluation, employment agreement and the letter of guarantee, confidentiality agreement, overtime-work application form, letter of commitment, etc. (Please see related photos.) After taking workers' fingerprints, factory personnel confirm their identities, including comparing their IDs pictures to their actual appearances.

Workers then follow the labor dispatch companies' representatives, entering the factory training room to undergo eye-sight tests and a group interview. Glasses need to be removed and each eye is tested while the other eye is covered; if a worker says the wrong answer when being tested, he will be eliminated. After that, workers participate in a group interview in the training room. The interviewer was a male staff member of the factory when CLW's investigator participated in the interview. The followings are the main questions he asked: Where did you work? How long did you work? Why do you want this job? Where is your home? How old are you? Are you pregnant? Are you married? Do you have a child? Do you have any special customs? Do you have any relatives or hometown friends working in the factory? Have you worked at Samkwang

previously? Do you know what Samkwang's business is?

On August 30, 2013 four of 80 people who attended the recruitment process with the CLW investigator were eliminated after the interview. A male worker was rejected because of his long, yellow-colored hair. Another male worker, a person of the Hui ethnic group (a Muslim group), was rejected because the interviewer believed he would not eat pork. The interviewer also rejected a worker of the Yi ethnic group because he had a long beard and his four-character name was difficult to pronounce. The fourth worker came from Guizhou Province. The interviewer eliminated him because his identity card indicated that his ethnic group is Chuanqing, which the interviewer had no knowledge of.

After the interviews, the factory will sign a labor contract with the workers. The personnel department usually distributes a labor contract sample along with the actual contract, directing workers to copy off of the sample when filling out their own contract. But personnel provide no explanation in regards to contract content.

Pre-employment Training

Workers need to attend a two-hour pre-employment training session conducted by two trainers after signing the labor contract. A male trainer provided the workers with basic information on the company, public security common knowledge, and fire prevention information. He lectured using Power Point slides. However, he played the slides too quickly for workers to see the contents clearly. After the orientation training, the trainer asked the workers two questions: 1) What is the principle for production safety? 2) What do you need to pay attention to when you withdraw money from a bank? Nobody could answer these questions. Therefore, he had to tell the correct answers to the workers. The trainer didn't really pay attention to effectively delivering the training information; for example, he answered his phone while conducting the training.

The second trainer, female, also lectured using Power Points. In her talk, she introduced the factory's organization structure (she told the workers that the factory made up of 13 departments and explained the work of each department), new worker procedures, the content of the labor contract, working hours, workers' compensation and benefits, the leave request process, resignation, and the factory dorm check-in and check-out procedures.

After the training program, workers need to ask the dorm administrator to arrange their accommodation for them. This is the final procedure before beginning work in the factory.

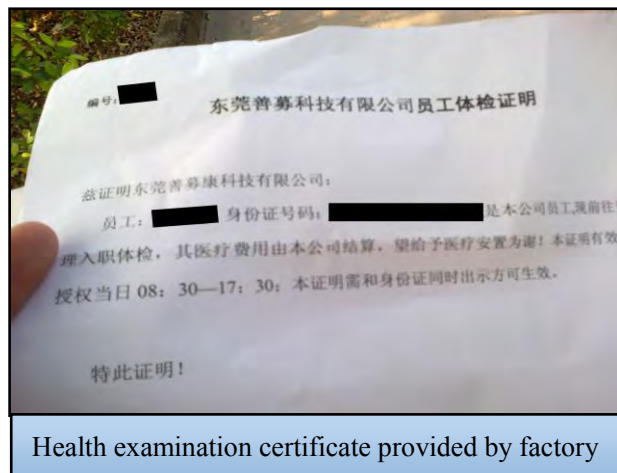
Work Uniform Distribution

Each worker receives two work uniforms four days after beginning their work at the factory. They are required to return the uniforms when he or she leaves the factory. The team leader distributes the uniforms according to workers' size, but if a given size is out of stock, the team leader will make workers accept other sizes. Several female workers on the investigator's production line had to wear oversized uniforms that looked like dresses on them.

The uniforms were returned to the factory after former workers left, some of the uniforms are very dirty and can't be dried in the same day after being washed. The two uniforms that the CLW investigator received were old and had the smell of sweat. He washed them and didn't wear the clothes the next day as the uniforms were drying. For this, the team leader scolded him: "Everyone else can wear a uniform, why can't you? You should wear it even if it's wet. We give you these uniforms and then you don't wear them. The uniforms will just gather mold."

Physical Health Exam

Workers need to pay 69 RMB (\$11.25) for the health examination at Dongguan Xiegang People's Hospital if they take it before September. The labor dispatch companies usually take advantage of this opportunity to charge workers 40 RMB (\$6.53) in exchange for a health examination certificate they make for the workers. For workers who begin work at Samkwang after September, the factory distributes a health examination certificate, a clinical examination application form at Dongguan Xiegang People's Hospital, and an x-ray test application form to each worker. Workers need to go to the hospital individually, and the health examination cost is paid by the factory. The examinations include a blood test and chest x-ray test, but exam results are not made available to workers themselves.



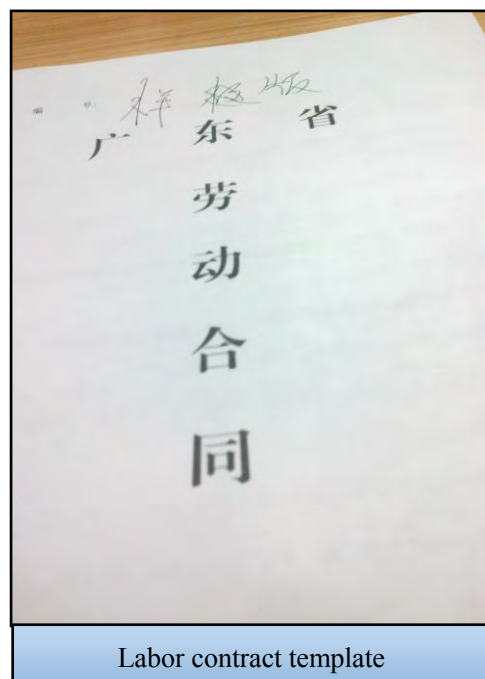
Forced Transaction

The labor dispatch companies charge the workers 2 RMB (\$0.32) for duplicating a copy of their identity card and 10 RMB (\$1.63) for taking eight one-inch photos. The labor dispatch companies also sell pens at 2 RMB (\$0.32) each to workers who don't have one

to fill out the forms. If the workers refuse to buy pens, dispatch company personnel tease them sarcastically: “How can you come to work if you can’t even afford a two-yuan pen? If you wait to use another person’s pen after they finish the form and you run out of time, we don’t care if you miss the interview.”

Labor Contracts

Most Samkwang workers are temp workers or dispatch workers. A labor dispatch contract is the same as a formal worker’s contract. The factory asks the workers to fill in the information based on the distributed contract template. Workers are later allowed to keep one of the two copies of the contract. The contract contents include the term of employment, probation period, job description and location, working hours and holidays, compensation, social security and benefits, modification of contract, rescission and termination of contract, mediation and arbitration provisions, service period and non-competitive policy, etc.



Workers only need to copy content from the contract template. After signing the contract, each worker is required to sign on the contract receipt confirmation form. Workers receive their copy of the contract with the factory’s seal back from the factory after one week.

Working Hours

Pre-work and Post-work Work

Injection-molding Department and IMD Department workers are required to work 11 hours a day and only receive another 30 minutes for meals. In other departments, workers do 10 hours a day, not including one hour for meals. But if the factory has too many orders to catch up on, the meal-time of the Assembly Department is shortened to 30 minutes. Workers in the Assembly Department must attend post-work meetings. In the morning, they must arrive at least 10 minutes before the official shift begins to prepare for work. After work, the team leader usually talks to the workers for at least 10 to 15 minutes in a post-work meeting. He mainly emphasizes factory discipline, urges workers to increase production output, criticizes some workers, summarizes worker



Team leader was criticizing workers in unpaid meeting

attendance, and reaffirms some rules. For example, workers must not take bathroom breaks while working.

Workers receive a break in the morning and in the afternoon. There is a bell in Factory Number One, and workers take a break when the bell rings. About a minute before the bell rings, the team leader will make workers return to the production line to prepare to begin again. Once the bell rings, they must start working immediately. Workers who are late will be yelled at and required to write an apology letter.

The factory works on a two-shift schedule. After they joined the factory, workers were told that they would rotate between day and night shifts once per month, but given high

worker turnover, it is difficult to strictly implement a once-a-month policy. Workers from the Factory Number Two and Three as well as the Assembly Department of Factory Number One confirmed that beginning in July, when they changed shifts once, they didn't change shifts again until September 15. During shift switches, workers are supposed to receive 24 hours to adjust to the new schedule. But they only received 22 hours. On September 15, some workers worked from 6:00 pm to 8:00 am with only had two meals during the entire 12-hour work shift. When the workers who began working in September took the night shift for the first time, they complained of serious exhaustion, complaining that such work was like torture.

When CLW's investigator attended pre-work training, a trainer from the HR department told the workers that the factory guaranteed that they could take a day off every week. However, workers from the Assembly Department in Factory Number Two didn't always get a day off. In August, they received no rest day after August 11. Similarly in September, the workers transferred from Factory Number One to Facility Three didn't get a day off in September before September 15. The CLW investigator began working in the factory on September 1 and witnessed that the workers from Assembly Department were demanded to work 10 hours on both September 7 and September 8, Saturday and Sunday. The investigator also heard his team leader telling the workers: "Any talk about controlling overtime hours in Samkwang is BS. The factory has a policy to limit the overtime hours to 100 hours per month, but during busy seasons overtime of 110 or 120

hours per month is normal. How many of you don't want to work overtime when asked?"

During non-peak seasons, workers usually work 23 days per month, with overtime hours of 86 hours per month. They are promised a day off every week. When the busy season arrives, they have to work 29 days per month, with 124 hours of overtime on average per month.

In September, workers toiled 28 days and did 80 hours of overtime on just the weekends alone, 68 hours on weekdays (on average), and an average of 148 hours of total overtime.

On September 15, when the shifts were switched, workers only received a 22-hour rest. After that, meal time for workers who were on the night shift was shortened to 30 minutes and they were also required to do three hours of overtime work per day.

On September 28, 16 workers were sent from Samkwang to Desay A&V Science and Technology Co., Ltd. at 10:00 pm. They came back to Samkwang at 11:00 am on the next day after continuous work. With less than seven hours of sleep during day time on September 29, they began the night shift again.

When CLW's investigator worked at Samkwang, he woke up at 7:00 am and clocked in at 7:45 am. He arrived at the workshop to do work preparation at 7:50 (the team leader required them to get prepared 10 minutes in advance) and started work at 8:00 am. Then he had an 10-minute break at 10:00 am, but was demanded to return to the production line by the team leader at 10:08 am. At 10:10 am, all workers began working again until 12:10 pm, when they clocked-out for lunch. They had to come back to their post by 1:06 pm start work again at 1:10 pm. The workers had another 10-minute break from 3:00 to 3:10 pm, but once again the investigator was only allowed to rest for eight of those minutes. He went on duty again from 3:10 to 5:10 pm. After that, he had dinner and then arrived back at his post at 6:06 pm to start working four minutes later. After finishing production work, the investigator, along with other workers, cleaned the production floor and put the chairs upside down on the workbench. This cleaning time continued from 7:45 to 7:55 pm. At 7:58, the investigator attended a mandatory meeting with all other workers led by the team leader. The meeting time was not fixed, lasting anywhere from 10 to 30 minutes. After the meeting, the investigator would walk back to the dormitories, arriving at 8:45 pm.

Work Schedule

Working Shifts	Work	Break	Work	Lunch	Work	Break	Dinner	OT	Note
Day Shift	7:50-10:00	10:00-10:10	10:10-12:10	12:10-1:10	1:10-3:00	3:00-3:10	5:10-6:10	6:10-7:45	Because of the great number of people, workers usually stagger their meal times. This is a schedule of the Assembly Department where the CLW investigator worked.
Night Shift	19:50-22:00	22:00-22:10	22:10-00:10	00:10-1:10	1:10-3:00	3:00-3:10	5:10-6:10	6:10-7:45	

Attendance Records

Workers are required to clock-in and out with their fingerprints. The time-card machine is installed at the door to the production facility in every department, and the clock-in machines and clock-out machines are separated. If a worker forgot to clock-in or out, he must ask the department leader for explanation form, whose contents include department, position, name, attendance classification, date, and time when the worker didn't clock-in or out, reasons for not clocking-in or out, and time. There is a list of names of workers who forgot to clock-in or out posted near the time-card machine at the end of each month, making them



Workers crowding around clock-in machine

convenient to check the records. Apart from the clock-in and out policy, the department leader also has an attendance form to record the time that each worker comes to work every day. These forms are classified carefully, including a dispatch worker attendance

form, formal worker attendance form, and temporary worker attendance form. Each form contains the workers' information, such as their working time and their signature, which is usually signed by the team leader on behalf of the workers. At the end of each month, after the team leader sends these attendance forms to department office staff, workers will normally be requested to confirm the records by signing on a new copy of the form.

Rules of Output

15,000 cell-phone cases are required to be produced on every assembly line every day, or about 1,500 cases each hour. If they didn't fulfill this quota, the team leader will yell at them, urging them to hurry up by constantly pressuring them.

Each worker must assemble one cell phone case every four seconds. Workers who do the labeling, molding, or parts application need to use both hands in order to finish the task on time. Workers who do the labeling need to hold the product in their left hand and hold the tweezers in the right hand, taking off the tags, attaching the tags, and then putting the products aside. They repeat these same actions and movements thousands of times per day. The molding workers always pick up the products in their right hand, put them on the machine, and press the button. After keeping the button being pressed for 0.58 of a second, they pick up the products and put them on the machine with their left hand, simultaneously grabbing another product with their right hand. Just like a press machine, these actions are mechanically repeated over and over again. Workers must complete each action within one second, or else the production line will become backed up.

In order to keep pace with production, every line requires 28 workers. Nonetheless, the group leader usually arranges four to 10 additional people in case a number of workers suddenly quit during the work day. The production line where CLW's investigator worked had anywhere from 32 workers to 38 workers.

Wages and Benefits

Wages

Wages are transferred to workers' accounts in the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China on 15th of each month. They will also receive a pay stub, which indicates that workers' wages include a base wage of 1,310 RMB (\$214) (1,310 RMB per month during the two-month probation period and 1,380 RMB (\$225) after becoming a formal employee), overtime wages, a full-attendance bonus of 63 RMB (\$10) per month, a 5 RMB (\$0.81) night-shift subsidy for every day of night shift worked, a service bonus of 150 RMB (\$25) per month after completing six months of work at Samkwang, a seniority bonus (workers are able to get this payment after completing three months of work),

working hour bonus (painting, injection molding, assembly, or IMD workers can receive a monthly bonus of 300 RMB, \$49), other subsidies (a female worker referral, for example, may earn a worker 450 RMB, \$74, after the female worker completes two months of work), Excellent Employee Award (three workers are purportedly selected as “Excellent Employees” every month and each receives 200 RMB, \$32), Best Employee of the Month Award (two workers are purportedly selected every month and each receives 300 RMB, \$49.01), and an annual bonus (workers who have worked for half a year will receive 700-800 RMB, or \$114 to \$130). Every month, social insurance and accommodation fees are deducted. However, among more than 200 workers interviewed by CLW, none of them had ever been awarded the Best Employee of the Month bonus. What’s more, the team leader of production facility where the CLW investigator worked had no idea what the Excellent Employees Award and Best Employee of the Month Award were, even though he had been working at the factory for over two years.

Seniority bonus

Work-age (Months)	3	6	12	18	24	36
Bonus (RMB)	30 (\$4.90)	50(\$8.16)	100 (\$16)	150 (\$24)	200 (\$32)	300 (\$49)

Service Bonus

Length of Service (Month)	6	12	18	24	30	36
Award(RMB)	150(\$24)	300 (\$49.01)	400(\$65)	500(\$81)	550 (\$89)	600(\$98)

Workers earn, on average, about 2,500 RMB (\$408) per month. In August, workers in the Assembly Department made 3,000 RMB (\$490) due to long overtime hours. The team leader made more than 4,000 RMB (\$653).



CLW obtained the actual September pay stub of one worker. His weekday overtime totaled 51 hours for 575.95 RMB (\$94), weekend overtime totaled 97 hours for 1,460.5 RMB (\$238), and legal holiday overtime totaled 11 hours for 248.45 RMB (\$41). His night shift subsidy was 80 RMB (\$13.07), base wage was 1,310 RMB (\$214), and his subsidy for specific positions was 300

RMB (\$49). There was a full-attendance bonus of 61 RMB (\$9.96) and other subsidies of 20 RMB (\$3.26). Deductions included income tax of 9.04 RMB (\$1.47), social insurance fees of 166 RMB (\$27), and accommodation fees of 105 RMB (\$17.15). Total wages were 4059.9 RMB (\$663), and the earnings were 3779.86 RMB (\$617).

Benefits

All workers have occupational injury insurance, retirement insurance, medical insurance, and unemployment insurance. For those who have completed one year of work, the factory also arranges to purchase the housing fund (for which 131 RMB, or \$21, will be deducted monthly from a worker's wages). However, the factory only purchases insurance for formal workers and it doesn't cover maternity insurance any workers. Labor dispatch companies buy these insurances for temporary workers and dispatch workers. If a formal worker enters the factory and started working before September 23, there will be a two-month social insurance premium deduction from her wages. But if the worker entered the factory before that date, only the social insurance premium for that month will be deducted. This premium is 156.29 RMB (\$25) per month.

After completing one year of work, workers receive five days of personal leave, although this leave is usually all arranged during Spring Festival. Workers are entitled to maternity leave, marriage leave, sick leave, and a 10-day paternity leave (only for the male workers who meet the late childbirth conditions). However, given workers' weak awareness of the process as well as the complicated leave procedures—for example, women are required to provide a birth certificate, birth approval certificate, and the B-Ultrasonography result in order to ask for leave—pregnant female workers usually resign and go home without going through this process. On Women's Day, female workers are entitled to a half day paid leave.

There's a basketball court beside the dormitory of Factory Number Two, but workers can't use it because they don't have a basketball. CLW's investigator never saw anyone playing there in more than 10 days.

The factory doesn't have an internet bar, a library, or any other recreational facilities.

Food and Accommodation

Accommodation

The factory provides the workers with dormitories and charges them 105 RMB (\$17.15) a month for water and electricity usage. If a worker chooses not to live in the dormitory, she will receive a 100 RMB (\$16.33) subsidy. At the time the workers enter the factory, all are required to fill out a form to apply either for living inside or outside of the factory campus. The HR Department announced during the pre-work training that "It is difficult to apply to live outside of the factory once you've applied for the factory dormitories. In order to modify your application, you have to explain your reasons to the team leader, director, and related staffs. Only when your reasons are accepted can you go to the HR Department and dormitory administration to carry out the necessary procedures."



Basin used to catch water from leaky ceiling

It is also difficult for workers to apply for factory dormitories if they are living in the dormitories outside of the factory because supply is limited. There are five dorm buildings in total: Dongguan Lilin Dormitory (this is near Huizhou and temporary workers and dispatched workers usually live here), Factory Number One Dormitory, Factory Number Two Dormitory, IMD Dormitory (which is one kilometer away from Factory Number One Dormitory), and Factory Number Three Dormitory, which is currently under construction. Of the above dorms, only Lilin is outside of the factory campus, so workers living at Lilin need to take the shuttle bus to and from the dorm every day.

It is difficult for workers to change their dormitory. CLW's investigator was arranged to live in the IMD dorm when he first entered the factory. When he later wanted to move to the Factory Number Two dorm because he was transferred from Factory Number One to Three (and the IMD dorm was far from this facility), the investigator spoke with the dorm administrator where he lived. The administrator told him that he should apply at the dorm where he wanted to live. However, when he found the administrator at the Factory Number Two dorm, he was told that he should fill out the dorm-shift application with the team leader in his facility. Later the team leader turned him down, saying that he was not responsible for personal issues unrelated to work. When the CLW investigator talked to the dorm administrator at the Factory Number Two Dorm again, the administrator said that he should find a higher level manager because this person's approval would be required. With all of this buckpassing, the investigator wasn't able to change his dorm until he left the factory.

There are 8 to 10 people living in each dorm room. Each room has an air conditioner, a water heater, and an independent bathroom. The dorms don't have locks on the door and no monitoring devices have been installed, but there is a dorm manager.

The dorms are in a poor state: water pipe leakage, broken shower facilities, leaking roof, clogged toilets, etc. All of these problems were expressed to dorm administrators, but maintenance is always delayed. When a new female worker in her thirties informed the dorm administrator of the Factory Number One Dorm about the clogged toilets, the administrator told her and other workers impatiently: "You are just making problems. We're not fixing it. They can find somebody else to fix it." After persistently asking for

assistance for a number of days, the administrator finally called someone to fix it at last.

Meals

The factory provides food to workers free of charge. Porridge, egg fried-rice, and rice noodles are served for breakfast. The porridge is made by adding water to leftover rice. Cafeteria staff responsible for distributing food wear



Long line in the factory cafeteria

masks, but the masks don't cover their mouths. Lunch and dinner contain two meat dishes and one vegetable dish. Workers can take as much rice as they want, but can only take the entree dishes once. There are bugs in the food sometimes. For example, on September 4, CLW's investigator found a bug when having his lunch at the Factory Number One cafeteria. He told the safety guard about this, but the cafeteria staff gave him another meal without reviewing and improving the sanitary issues in the cafeteria. After that, CLW's investigator went into the kitchen to find tons of flies whizzing all over the place and dirty water on the floor. Add to this that none of the food below the flies was covered.

Food trays are placed on the table in front of the cafeteria entrance, and no one maintains order. When the workers enter the cafeteria, they crowd into the cafeteria to grab a tray, squeezing one another to get ahead.

Management personnel don't take the food at the same counter as the workers, and the managers' food is better despite the meal also being free to them. Management personnel have eggs, Chinese pancakes, porridge, and noodles for breakfast, and three meat dishes including chicken drumsticks and one vegetable dish for lunch.

The cafeteria floor is wet and slippery, especially around the wash basin. CLW's investigator witnessed several workers slip and fall. On September 3, the investigator himself almost slipped and ended up dropping his tray onto another worker's clothing. After that, the investigator expressed his concern to the safety guard: "I hope that the factory will be more attentive to this by using rubber mats." The safety guard said that he noticed this problem before and told the factory many times. But the factory failed to do anything about it.

Jing Ran, a female worker in the assembly department, entered the factory on September 2. On September 3, slipped on the cafeteria and had to receive medical treatment, including five stitches on her knee that cost more than 100 RMB (\$16.33), but nothing was done after she reported this incident to the factory. A male worker fell on the slippery floor when passing the water basin in the cafeteria, fracturing his right shoulder. He made a request for a leave to see a doctor, but the team leader didn't give it to him, instead recording the work as absent when he left to get treatment.

Occupational Safety and Environmental Protection

Occupational Safety

Workers have no idea whether there is an occupational safety and health committee in the factory, and no one told them during pre-work training. At the time, the trainer

merely briefly introduced information related safety when using chemicals. The trainer told the workers who were assigned to the painting department that they would be exposed to alcohol, benzene, and n-hexane. In that case, they should pay attention to personal protection.

The trainer told workers that they needed to participate in three levels of safety training programs, including corporate training, workshop training, and group training. However, workers never actually participated in any workshop training or group training, even after beginning work, and they were never asked to sign forms confirming their participation in any three-level safety training programs.

Machines at Samkwang lack regular inspection and inspection records.

The stairwell and entrance for the production facility is only about a meter wide, so it becomes very crowded when workers are finishing or beginning shifts. No one maintains order around the time card machine, so workers are always crowding around it during shift changes.

The factory distributes masks and earplugs to workers in the injection molding department for protection. Workers in the painting department are required to wear dust-free clothing, masks, gloves, and working caps. All this equipment can be replaced by new ones only when they are worn out or broken. In the assembly department, workers don't have any protection equipment, and they use their bare hands to continually wipe the cell phone cases with alcohol-soaked rags.

Workers are required to get health exams when entering the factory, but are not asked to take one when they leave the factory. The original exam includes hepatitis B testing, and hepatitis carriers are refused for employment. When Yunping Liu, a worker in the assembly department, was found to have liver disease, he was fired without compensation.

There is no clinic in the factory, although there are medicine cabinets in the production facilities and dormitories. The cabinets contain gauze, hemostasis, and anti-inflammatory medicine. There is no contact number on the medicine cabinet and no one knows where the key to the cabinet's lock is.

Wires and air guns in Factory Number Three are a mess, places all over the facility. Barefoot workers could easily get electrocuted or trip on this equipment.

Environmental Protection

Production facilities in the factory do not classify and separate trash. All the plastic bags, waste paper, industrial scrap, empty alcohol dispensers, and water bottles are put in the garbage trucks and into the garbage dump.

Many roadside food stalls are in business outside of the factory. This has brought a tremendous amount of litter on the road.



Garbage outside the factory

During daytime, there is no emission of smoke from chimneys outside the painting department of Factory Number Two. However, white smoke with a pungent odor is released at night.

There is a brook across from the main entrance of Factory Number One, and it is filled with black, stinking water flowing from the factory.

Outside the IMD Dormitory, trash has piled up, and in the dorm, no one is in charge of collecting trash in the hallways.

Fire Prevention

No safety instructions or emergency exit signs are provided in Factory Number One. There are safety guidelines shown in Factory Number Three, but there are no signs indicating where the emergency exits are located. Additionally, the doors into production facilities are closed during the working hours.

Fire extinguishers are inspected monthly. However, the inspectors merely tick off the device inspection form without ever really opening the fire extinguishers and hydrants for inspection. On September 4, for instance, CLW's investigator witnessed the inspector holding a notebook, walking back and forth between the production facilities to find the location of fire extinguishers. Once he found one, he would quickly mark the form without doing inspection and then move onto the next. He inspected a fire extinguisher about once every 30 seconds.

There are no fire extinguishers or hydrants around the facility trash bins.

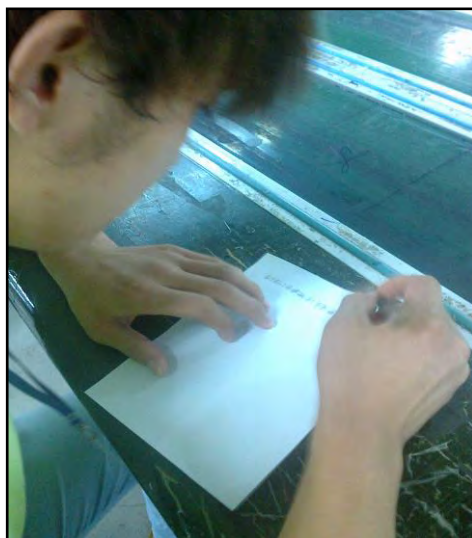
Fire drills have been carried out at Samkwang, but workers never participate. Workers are not even told during training how to use a fire extinguisher. CLW asked 30 workers, including 18 male workers and 12 female workers, about how to use fire extinguishers. None of them had any idea; they said no trainer ever taught them the ways to use.

The fire extinguishers and hydrants in the dormitory hallways are rusty. No one ever inspects or changes the devices. There are not even inspection cards on the devices. The dorms also lack emergency instructions.

Rewards and Punishments

Samkwang is very strict about punishment. One example are the punitive measures taken for late arrival. Workers who are one minute late will be yelled at and required to write a self-criticism. One September 3, for example, CLW's investigator was 30 seconds late for work because he went to the bathroom, and the production line was just beginning to operate. The team leader scolded him and demanded him to stand by the door for half an hour. The team leader even threatened the investigator: "You think I won't stop you from doing any overtime? Then you'll only earn a base wage. Let's see if that doesn't make you quit." Additionally, he ordered the investigator to write a self-criticism and fired him. Only after the facility's director got involved and changed the investigator's post was he was able to stay in the factory.

Another worker encountered a much worse consequence for being late. The team leader scolded him because he was late for work once. The supervisor ordered the worker to write and read in public a pledge stating that "Jingfei Liu, I myself promise I will not be late again otherwise I will quit".



A worker writing a self-criticism

Workers are also yelled at for mistakes or producing too slow, or failing to meet production quotas. This happens every day. The team leader usually yells at workers using crude or aggressive language, for example: "What are you even doing", "Do you even want to be here anymore", "If you don't want to do it just get the hell out", "Shut up", "You are so stupid", "Watch yourself", "Hurry up", "You are humiliating me", "Should I even let you keep working", "If you can't meet quota, the director will chew me out 20 times, and I will chew you out 40 times". When the team leader gets angry, he also pounds on the



table and kick the chairs.

Not only the team leaders scold and humiliate workers, the Korean people at the factory treat workers even more poorly. In Samkwang, all workers and team leaders are afraid of the corporate director, who is Korean. He is a bad-tempered person and always speaks loud and pounds on the table when he is angry. He even points his fingers at workers' noses or foreheads and hollers at them.

Five workers who entered the factory on the same day as CLW's investigator couldn't stand the screaming and insulting from any of the management, so they left the factory on the first day of work. One of them left the factory during the break time after working for only two hours in the morning on the first day.

A woman in her 40s was very upset after talking about the team leader scolding her. She told the investigator that as a woman with both young and old to care for at home, she was too old to easily find a job, and she would not choose to stay at Samkwang if she was not in such a tough situation. The team leader always bullies older workers, telling them that they are too slow and limbs too stiff.

Apart from psychological and physical punishment, there are five levels of administrative sanctions used at the factory: a warning, minor infraction, major infraction, demotion, and termination. There are 21 provisions that lead to warnings, eight that lead to minor infractions, six provisions that lead to major infractions, and 34 that can lead to being fired. In the dormitories, there are another set of 25 rules.

Information about punished workers is directly posted in factories. Shanyong Yuan, a worker in the molding department, failed to abide by rules which forbid workers from taking cell-phones into the production facilities without attaching a protective film. For this, he several warnings to him were posted in public in the factory.

Ironically, there are only three provisions stipulating rewards or bonuses: 1) warnings can be offset by praises 2) one minor contribution can cancel offset one minor infraction 3) one major contribution can offset one major infraction.

Calculation and Conversion Standards

1) Two praises equals one minor contribution. 2) Two minor contributions can offset one major infraction. 3) Two warnings equals to one minor infraction. 4) Two minor infraction equals one major infraction.

Reference Chart for Reward and Punishment

Reward Classification	Praise	Record of Regular Contribution	Record of Major Contribution
Reward	50 RMB (\$8.16) / time	100 RMB (\$16.33) / time	200 RMB (\$32) / time
Penalty Classification	Warning	Record of Demerit	Record of a Major Demerit
Penalty	50 RMB (\$8.16) / time (deducted from wages)	100 RMB(\$16.33) / time (deducted from wages)	200 RMB (\$32.67) / time (deducted from wages)

Grievance Channels

The factories don't have workers' representatives, a workers' union , or a workers' hotline. At the time of pre-job training, the HR department trainers told workers that suggestion boxes were placed beside the bulletin boards in front of Factory Number One, the Factory Number One Dorm, and Factory Number Two cafeteria. Workers were also given a contact e-mail: haibinliu@samkwang.com.

However, suggestion boxes are just for display. Some workers put their opinions into the suggestion boxes located in Factory Number Two. But no one checks the box. On September 4, CLW's investigator wrote a letter of suggestion and put it into the box in front of the Factory Number One Dorm. Although the investigator included his contact number in the letter, he didn't receive any phone call before leaving the factory.

If the workers in the factory have any suggestions or questions, they can only ask the team leader for help. The team leader sometimes communicates these issues to higher management and sometimes just ignores them. If workers encounter psychological problems, they will often talk to people from their hometowns or same-sex friends rather than communicate with the team leader or management.

Resignation

In the labor contract between the factory and workers, the fourth provision under the contract termination section clearly says that “To terminate the contract, Employee must must inform Employer in writing 30 days prior to termination; during the probation period, to terminate the contract, Employee must inform Employer in writing three days prior to termination”. However, at the time of pre-job training, the HR department explained to workers that in order to terminate the contract during the probation period they must ask the team leader for a resignation request form seven days prior to the termination. The team leader can get the resignation request form only by requesting for one from the director. On the resignation request form, formal workers and dispatch workers have different names. When a worker obtains the form, he needs to fill in related information, including his department, his name, position, ID number, contact number, resignation time, and reasons for resignation. After the director signs off on the form, the worker is required to return his uniform and the factory ID to company personnel. The worker can only leave the factory once he receives a permit issued by staff. The factory will deposit unpaid wages to the worker’s bank account on the 15th day of the following month.

The CLW investigator witnessed situations in which a team leader didn’t approve of workers’ resignation requests and workers directly left the factory without applying. When a roommate of the investigator asked the team leader to resign after working for two months, the team leader told him to “If you want to leave then just leave, but if you want the form, I don’t have it.” As a consequence, the worker had no choice but to leave the factory without getting paid for that month’s work. CLW knows of more than 20 workers who left the factory in a similar way.

CLW’s investigator also faced difficulty when he tried to resign from Samkwang. He asked the team leader for approval of his resignation after five days of work, but the team leader denied the request, telling the investigator to leave the factory on his own. The investigator insisted on going through the resignation process although the team leader made excuses, saying that he didn’t have the resignation request form and had to ask for one from the director. The team leader continued failing to provide the form. The investigator then told the facility leader (the person who assists the director manage the facility) about his desire to resign, but he said the team leader was the person in charge of resignation issue.

Fortunately, during that time, Factory Number One was moving to Factory Number Three, and while helping move materials, the investigator accidentally found a resignation request form within papers on an office desk. When he submitted the completed form to

the team leader, the leader denied the request again, saying the director would not approve because of the paper was crumpled. The investigator begged him to try, but the team leader continued to refuse to submit the form to the director. After consistent effort on the part of the investigator, the team leader agreed to bring the investigator to the director after all other workers left the factory in the evening. He repeatedly reminded the investigator to be polite, bow to the director, and hand over his request form with both hands. The corporate president took the form and read. Then he signed his name on it without saying a single word.

The factory pays workers on every 15th day of the month following work. Therefore, if a worker's request for resignation is denied after completing an entire month's work, he will lose half a month's wages if he chooses to leave the factory. (Workers can receive the previous month's wages only after completing 15 days of work in the current month. Therefore, workers always lose out on 15 days' pay even if they resign via formal resignation procedures.)

Other Issues

Factory Audit

Samsung often visits the factory and conducts factory audits and inspections. Before Samsung inspectors arrive at the factory, the team leaders will be informed and they will tell workers to prepare. Workers will be told to clean the facility, keep quiet, and produce slowly to ensure the quality of products. Samsung inspectors are usually accompanied by the factory's director, facility directors, and facility supervisors when they conduct factory audits.

Additionally, other Korean people conduct factory inspections regularly. On September 4, for instance, the investigator saw a Korean person, a facility director, and a Chinese manager, who also served as a translator, touring the assembly department of Factory Number One. When the Korean person saw a paper posted in front of the test platform, he directed the facility director to immediately get up on the platform and tear the paper down. When the Korean person touched the workbench, bulbs, and pipelines to see whether it was clean, he found it to be dusty and told the facility director to have workers wipe down all the bulbs, pipes, and workbenches in the facility at once.

Subcontracting Factories

There are more than 10 small subcontracting plants in Samkwang production facilities. The subcontractors have their facilities inside the Samkwang facilities, and each plant has 15 to 50 workers, though it is difficult to calculate because of the diverse sizes of the

subcontractors and high rate of turnover. The subcontractors that the investigator saw included Taicheng (mainly producing welded wires for Samsung 8190 cellphone cases) whose headquarter is located in Dongguan's Chashan Townshi; San'en; Sanhan; Zhenpeng; Fengsheng; and Dayuan. Workers of these plants work 13 hours per day with only 30 minutes for meal time each day. They are entitled to one to two days off for rest at most each month and will earn about 3,000 RMB (\$490) in monthly wages. They have their meals for free at the canteens of Samkwang. (The lunch expenses are paid by the subcontractor boss to Samkwang.) The subcontractor bosses have arranged for their workers to live the Samkwang factory campus. In an interview, a worker of Taicheng told CLW that he welded wires for Samsung cell-phone cases after Samkwang completed injection molding, painting, and other steps. When they finished, the products would be handed over to the assembly department at Samkwang. In order to ensure that each production line of Samkwang produces 15,000 products each day, Taicheng workers had to work overtime, otherwise they would be blamed for not meeting quota and fined by their boss.

The Taicheng worker further told CLW that the team leaders in the Samkwang assembly department were very demanding and strict about the quality of wires they produced. If even a slight defect is found, they would be required to inspect an entire carton of products and reproduce the whole batch.

Underage workers

There are a great number of underage workers, who have just turned 16, working on the production lines. CLW knows of four workers who were born before August 1997 working on the same production line as the investigator. There are many more workers who were born in 1995 and 1996. All underage workers do the same work as adults.

On September 5, a Korean manager checked and verified the identifying information of workers at the factory. Each worker was asked to show his original ID card without being told about the purpose for verification. A Korean staff member swiped workers' ID cards and looked at each worker's face to check. He asked the workers to go to other talk to another staff member and answer their questions, including: Where are you from? What's your birth date? What are the last four digits of your ID number? If a worker couldn't answer, the staff member would think he used a fake ID card and would ask him to leave the factory. During this verification process, 56 workers, including CLW's investigator passed the validation steps and answered the questions correctly. But they were still made to go to the HR department to be checked again.

On September 8, the HR department posted the name, ID numbers, and departments of workers required to go to the HR department again to verify the identity. If the workers

informed didn't do so, they would be automatically considered to have left the factory and would not be asked to come to work anymore.

On September 11, CLW's investigator and 20 other workers didn't go to the HR department to be checked. After that, a list of their names was posted beside the time-card machine, and those workers couldn't clock-in with their fingerprints. On September 12, the factory required workers under 30 to take their original ID cards to be checked by the Samsung staff. A female Samsung staff member swiped workers' ID cards on the machine one-by-one and verified workers' appearance. After validation, workers were required to confirm their information with other three staff members.

After passing these two verification processes, underage workers were accepted without doubt.

At Samkwang, underage workers all entered under dispatched labor or temp labor contracts.

Student workers



Left: teenager worker born on August 4, 1997
Right: student worker from Nanchong, Sichuan

The factory recruited a group of student workers from technical schools in Nanchong City of Sichuan Province, Guangxi Province, and Guangxi Province during the summer vacation. They entered the factory in June and worked until August 25, at which point the

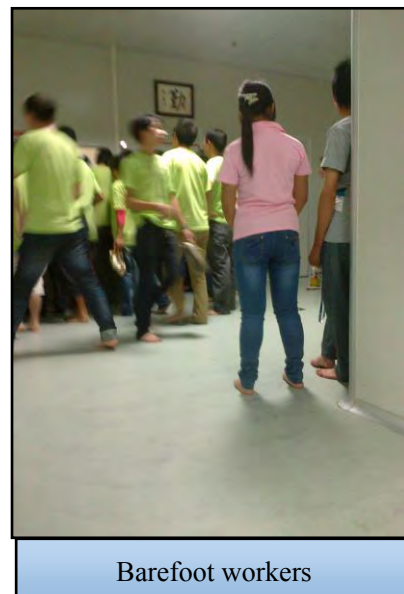
students began gradually returning to school. When CLW's investigator came to Samkwang in August, some of the technical school students had already left. However, students from a technical school in Nanchong, Sichuan were still working at the factory. One student, whose employee identification number was 305622, told CLW that school teachers arranged for them to enter the factory to work. Students didn't receive any compensation for their work other than 400 RMB (\$65) as pocket money every month. Teachers told students that their wages at Samkwang were used to offset their tuition.

The student that spoke to CLW majored in computer applications, and many of her classmates came to the factory together with her. They were sent to work on different production lines, and their working hours and benefits were the same as other workers.

Working Barefoot

Workers of Production Facilities Two and Three walked onto the factory floor barefoot every day. Workers of Facility Two must take off their shoes and put them into the shoe cabinet. In Facility Three, female and male workers have to put their shoes together because of the lack of space in the shoe cabinet. Workers also have to stay barefoot when they go to the bathroom since the bathrooms are inside the production facilities. The thermometer hanging in front of the workshop door indicates that the workshop temperature is 26 degrees Celsius, and the workers' feet are always cold. However, the facilities' team leaders, directors, and corporate members are allowed to enter facilities in slippers. Nobody ever explained why workers must be barefoot. If you ask the team leaders for the reason, they will reply "it's the rule". When a corporate member found that CLW's investigator didn't take off shoes on the first day, he went Factory Number Three and yelled at the investigator loudly, demanding him to take off his shoes.

It is always chaotic near the door because of all of the shoes lying out. Workers sometimes mistakenly wear others' shoes. One worker lost three pairs of shoes during a single week. When he complained to the facility's security guard about this, the guard said "How can I identify each worker's shoes? If others wear your shoes, you can just wear others' shoes." Another female worker on the same production line as the investigator complained a lot after two new pairs of shoes disappeared and she had to wear other



people's old shoes. To avoid her shoes being taken by others, she took the shoes inside the facility. When the team leader found her shoes, he ordered her to throw the shoes outside.

Many workers couldn't adapt to the barefoot requirement. Five of the eight workers in the dorm room of CLW's investigator and four of the workers on the investigator's production line left the factory after the first day of work. When the investigator himself left, he saw a form in the staff area of the production facility that stated that a pregnant female worker left the factory because she could not stand working with bare feet.

Female Worker Protection

The factory lacks protection for female workers. The team leader sometimes insults female workers in the production facilities or during meetings, using offensive, coarse language like, “bitch”, “old ugly woman”, or “shut your frickin’ mouth”.

On September 5, when a female worker in the same production facility as CLW’s investigator prepared to leave work after a night shift, she failed to clean the floor very carefully and put her chair on the table. The team leader yelled at her “Come back and clean it again!” and kicked the chair over, creating a loud noise. All of the workers in the facility were frightened by his conduct.

Verbal and physical harassment remain a problem in the factory. When the door guard sees young women, he often calls them “pretty girl”. A Sichuan male worker would regularly touch a female worker named Zhang during breaks. A Hunan male worker perpetually pestered and annoyed an underage female worker after work or during breaks; he always touched her despite the girl not wanting to have anything to do with him.

Local Prices

Outside of Factory Number One and in front of the back door of Factory Number Two, there are two small shops. These shops sell cigarettes, beer, beverages, water, ice cream, and various snacks. The price of the items is much more expensive than that in the supermarkets. A bottle of Master Kong ice cream, for example, is 2.5 RMB (\$0.41) in the supermarket, but it costs 3.5 RMB (\$0.57) in these factory stores.

The village in the city across from Samkwang factory has dozens of small restaurants and stores that sell low-quality goods for higher prices than supermarkets. A box of Xinxinxiangyin tissues, for instance, costs 4.5 RMB (\$0.74) at supermarkets, but in these stores it is priced at 7.5 RMB (\$1.23) each. A bottle of Wahaha mineral water is priced 1.5 RMB (\$0.25) in the supermarket and 2 RMB (\$0.33) in these shops.

In addition, many food carts and fruit stalls gather on the road in front the gate at Factory Number Two from 4:00 pm to 6:00 am on the next day. Workers spend 4.5 RMB (\$0.74) for a bowl of stir-fried noodles, 4 RMB (\$0.65) for a bowl of hot-and-dry noodles, and 4.5 RMB (\$0.74) for half a kilogram of apples. There are internet cafes, supermarkets, night markets, bars, skating rinks, KTVs, and outdoor stages in the Yinhu Community, which is three kilometers away from Samkwang. It costs workers 4.5 RMB (\$0.74) per hour to surf the internet, 2 RMB (\$0.33) more expensive than the price in the center of Xiegang Town. In interviews, workers commonly expressed that the prices for goods and services in Yinhu Community and shops in and around Samkwang.

After the interviews with hundreds of workers, CLW found that if workers ate and lived

in the factory dorms, it would cost each person up to 1000 RMB (\$163) to meet basic needs each month.

A worker who doesn't live in the factory dorms can receive 100 RMB (\$16) monthly as a housing subsidy. Within five kilometers of Samkwang, it costs 350 RMB (\$57) per month to rent a 30-square meter apartment with one bedroom and one living room, and it costs 200 RMB (\$32) per month to rent a 20-square meter apartment.

Workers' Afterwork Lives

Workers' lives are simple while in the factory: eat, work, sleep. They get up at 7:00 am, start work by 8:00 am, and after staying at the factory for 12 hours, they drag their exhausted bodies back to the dorms or apartments to sleep. This process consumes most of workers' lives.

Apart from the internet cafes, skating rinks, KTV, and outdoor stages located in Yinhu Community, which is three kilometers away from Samkwang, there are no other entertainment venues around the factory. In order to know more about workers' cultural lives, CLW went to some of these places several times after 8:00 pm. Only two Samkwang employees, female office staff, were found dancing on the outdoor stage. Other than that, CLW found no other Samkwang workers in the internet cafes, skating rinks, or KTVs. After workers in the investigator's dormitory left work every day, they usually took a shower, washed their clothes, and went to sleep after about an hour. When the investigator invited them to go to internet cafes together, they always said they were so tired that they could only go with him on days off.

There are peddlers selling cloths, headphones, and accessories on the roads around the Factory Number Two every night. They also told the investigator that they stayed only for one and a half hours at most every night because workers would usually only hang out in the area for from 8:00 pm until 9:30 pm at the latest before going back to sleep. This is the nearest place for workers to go shopping. But they just occasionally buy things that they like after work, instead usually returning immediately to their dorms to rest.

Workers' dreams

During the meal or break times, CLW's investigator often asked the workers "what is your dream?" Yang, a Shanxi female worker from the assembly department, is a mother of two college students. She said her dream is to "earn more money to support her children, her children can graduate on time, and they can find ideal jobs. I hope that the team leader and corporate director will not yell at workers anymore and treat them better."

Wang, a 29-year-old single male worker in the injection molding department, said that his

dream is to “work hard, earn more money, and have a wife.”

Liu, a worker born in the 90s who works in the assembly department, had been working in Dongguan for five years and he lives with his parents. His hobby is playing piano. But the factory fired him because he was found to have liver disease. His dream was to “work hard, earn enough money, and get married within three years”.

An underage female worker said her dream is to “earn enough money to set up a supermarket in my hometown.”

A female dispatch worker said her dream is to “go back home and get into the animal breeding industry.”

The team leader of the assembly department is from Sichuan, and she has a dream of “earning enough money to buy a house with her husband in Sichuan”.

Investigator's Journal

September 2 Day 1

Assembly Department of Factory Number One

Today is my first day at work. Because the factory asked us to get to the production facilities by 7:45 am, I got up at 7 am. After washing and brushing my teeth, I left the dorm at 7:20 and got to the cafeteria at 7:26.

The breakfast provided there was rice noodles. When I went to get my bowl, I suddenly saw the recruiting staff member who interviewed me also coming to have his breakfast, but his food was served at another window. I then went to get congee. I lost my appetite as soon as I found that the congee was made of leftover rice and water. But then I thought about how exhausting the first day at work would be and I grabbed the congee. (The other day I was told by a factory security guard that working in the assembly department is the most exhausting and grueling of positions because every day 15,000 cell phones had to be finished.)

Sitting down opposite side of the interviewer, I asked him when having my food, "Why do you get eggs and buns for breakfast?" "Because we are the management, we get different food from you workers," he answered. I continued, "Is the cost of meals deducted from your wages?" The interviewer responded, "No, we don't need to pay for meals. Work hard in the factory, so someday you can be promoted to a team leader position and have eggs to eat every day."

Soon it was 7:40 am. I rushed to clock-in, pressing my fingerprints into the machine in the production facility. When I arrived at the meeting space, the administrative staff member was already waiting there. Roll call was called at 7:45 sharp. It turned out that among the 32 people who were supposed to be here, one person was absent, but the staff did not wait for him. Then a team leader came and randomly picked five from the group. This was followed by another team leader, who, as the administrative staff member explained, was the leader of our team. He was very serious with no smile on his face, telling us "You are all new workers. I'm going to tell you that Samkwang is a Korean company that makes cases for Samsung cell phones. It is very strict. If you don't do well, you will get snapped at. Since you guys are here, you should follow the rules, otherwise you will be scolded. The student workers just ended their summer term and left, so you folks will run a new production line. No one is going to teach you. Follow my instructions

when you get on the factory floor, and I will teach you step by step. You must learn as quickly as possible. The Koreans have given me a week. By the end of the week, you guys must be able produce 15,000 units per day, or at least 12,000. The minimum production quota per hour is 1,500. You are not allowed to use the restroom or drink water during the shift, and no one will help fill your position. I will give you a ten-minute break every two hours. Be aware: if you do something wrong, you are not allowed to argue. What I hate most is that you argue with me, especially men.”

Finishing his talk, the team leader had us go into the production facility, assigned us positions, and then instructed us one by one. In two hours, he had instructed everyone. Between 10 and 10:10, we got a break. Once the bell rang to begin the break, many workers quickly rushed into the restrooms. I got to the restroom only to find a line out the door because there were only three toilets. The female bathroom, which was right next to the male one, was even more crowded; 18 women were waiting. In the men’s room, there were ten men waiting, using the toilet, or smoking. The restroom was filled with smoke. I realized that there was no rest area or smoking area in the production facility. It wasn’t easy getting into the bathroom, and when I got out, there was only a minute left. Running back to my position, I didn’t even have time to catch my breath when the team leader asked us to start working.

The phone casings of Samsung 8190s were unceasingly coming down the assembly line. My position required me to stick tag on the covers with tweezers, and I had about two seconds to complete each phone. I found it impossible to meet this quota. Seeing the unfinished products piling up, the team leader simply put me in another position. This time I was in charge of punching machines. My task was to use machine to press parts of cell phone speaker together. Using my both hands, I held the product with my right hand, put it on the machine, and press the button. 0.58 seconds later, I took out the product with my left hand while my right hand put another one down. I mechanically repeated these actions over and over again, in the same way that a machine operates. A female worker next to me was sticking covers to the inside of cell phone shells. She complained, “I just learned how to do it, but the assembly line is too quick. I have to repeat the same action 15,000 times a day. It forces me to get used to it.” The machines were set very quickly. Workers’ hands would be crushed if they did not pay attention.

Not long after that, the bell for lunch break sounded. Setting aside our work, we ran to the door, but as soon as we left the production facility, we found hundreds of people crowded in the stairwell. I was pushed down the stairs by people behind me; the stairwell was too narrow. I had to be careful.

In the cafeteria, a crowd of workers grabbed trays from a table near the cafeteria

entrance. After I grabbed a tray and got my food, it was already 12:15 pm. The whole process took 15 minutes. Finding a seat, I started chatting with workers sitting next me while hurriedly eating my lunch. When asked how they like the food and work here, the workers all responded, "The food is bad and the work tiring."

Ugh. I found myself nearly numb as the morning shift was so intense. I only heard the team leader rushing and scolding workers and had no time to take a glimpse at what other workers were doing.

40 minutes passed since we finished the lunch. Entering the production facility, I saw some workers taking a nap on a piece of cardboard, some resting their heads on their arms, and other workers sat on chairs. At this time, I saw a female worker who looked young and I began talking with her. She told me she was a student from Nanchong City in Sichuan. Their teachers brought them here, so they could pay for tuitions from what they earned during the summer vacations. Their annual tuition was 7,500 RMB. Their teachers took their wages and only gave the students 400 RMB per month as pocket money. They had been working in Samkwong for over three months. When asked how she felt about working here, she said, "The rules are very strict. The team supervisor and the Koreans are very mean. The food served in the cafeteria is not good at all. There is nothing to do for fun." As we were chatting, the team supervisor yelled "Get ready for work." All the workers hurriedly got up and returned to their posts, readying for their afternoon shifts. It was just 12:56 pm, but we had to get ready four minutes in advance. Once the bell rang, the belt began moving products down the line.

We continued to do the same work as the morning. From time-to-time, we could hear the team leader yelling, "Hurry up. Don't talk. Shut up." Suddenly, the supervisor of the next line yelled at workers, "Would it kill you to stop talking?" My hands never stopped moving, constantly moving products in and out with my hands and pressing the button. All of my attention was focused on the small area around of hands, as I didn't dare get distracted. I didn't have any time to turn back to see my coworkers around me. All of a sudden, the team supervisor shouted, "Don't look. Pay attention. Hurry up."

My whole day was so rushed and busy. The production line stopped at 7:45 pm, then the team leader started assigning people to do the cleaning. Everyone was asked to put his or her stool at the back of working stations. Dust and trash were collected and put in a large plastic bag. Later, the leader asked a 17-year-old female worker to dispose of it in a big trash bin at the door to the production facility.

At 7:58 pm, after a bit of anxious waiting, the team leader finally came out the production facility and began the meeting. To paraphrase, he told us: "Today we were making the shell of Samsung 8190 in the color brown and black. Let me tell you something: if the

machines or products have an issue, you don't need to handle it. Let me know right away. The positions assigned to you today are fixed. And without my permission you can't switch positions yourselves. Speed up your working rate. Because today is your first day, I let you do 6,000 units, but tomorrow you have to finish 8,000 units. Be prepared prior to your shift. At 7:50 am you must arrive at your post. The bell rings at 8 am, and we start working at once. Since today is your first day, I think you did a good job, but you can't talk at work. Let me repeat this: this is a Korean company, and the rules are very strict. When you go to Factory Number Three, you will see Koreans. If you talk like you did today when working there, you will be scolded numerous times. If the Koreans scold me, I will scold you until you cry and quit the job. The student workers have left, so we have a lot of things to do. You won't get any days off during the weekend. If you work hard, earning 3,000 RMB a month will not be a problem. So you should value this opportunity, especially the men. The factory is not hiring men right now. I don't know how the men among you got hired, but since you are here, you should work hard. If you follow my instructions and work hard, you should have no trouble. Otherwise, you will get yourselves into trouble. Now I am done. You guys can leave. Remember to clock out."

It was 8:10 when the team leader finished his talk. I felt so relieved when we are told to leave. I went downstairs with a large crowd and then went outside of the factory with my roommate. Now I started to realize how hungry I was. In response to my roommate's invitation, I ordered fried noodles from a vendor not far from the factory's main entrance.

I then returned to my dorm, where I saw three new coworkers, who were recruited as temporary workers through a labor dispatch firm in the Dongcheng District, Dongguan. The Labor dispatch firm told them that the hourly rate for male temporary workers is 9.5 RMB (\$1.56), while for female temp workers it's 10 RMB (\$1.64). No overtime wages are provided for temp workers' overtime work. After three months, male temp workers' wages can be raised to 11 RMB (\$1.81) per hour, while the female wage can rise to 12 RMB (\$1.97) per hour. The three workers came from Guangxi and Hunan Province, and all of them were underage. I yawned several times while we were chatting. Lying in bed, I really didn't want to move. My roommate urged me a few times before I got up to take a shower and wash my clothes. I felt pain in my both arms.

September 3 Day 2

Assembly Department of Factory Number One

After a night's rest, my arms felt better. As soon as the time hit 7 am, the alarm clock rang and I immediately got up. After quickly washing my face, I ran to the cafeteria with my roommate. Because he found the breakfast served there unappetizing, he ate at vendors outside. Few people were in the cafeteria, so there was no need to wait in line to get food.

But we were still having stir-fried eggs with rice and stir-fried rice noodles, so I simply asked for the rice. The congee today was still made from leftover rice. It was then I understood why so many people, including my roommate, do not want eat in the cafeteria.

It was 7:45 am when I finished my breakfast. Only five minutes away from the time to enter the production facility. I quickly got there and clocked-in, when I found everybody of my line had already arrived at their positions to prepare materials needed for today's work. The team leader was also walking back and forth, helping the workers gather materials, distributing tweezers and other tools. The workers beside me already had labels, tweezers, and tape ready, waiting to begin. Looking at my watch, it was only 7:53. I quickly went to find finger covers—the line supervisor required workers to wear finger covers to prevent against leaving finger prints on products—and put them on my fingers.

At just past 7:59 am, the team leader shouted that work is starting. Products began streaming down the belt of the production line. According to the counting device on the pressing machine, it took five minutes for a cell phone to be processed from the first worker on the line to the last one. But between the first step, where the phone is nothing but a shell, and the final processing step, 50 phones in total will be processed on the line. Time seemed to fly too quickly as our hands were moving back and forth constantly. We did not dare to be distracted even for a second, as this would cause our hands to be crushed. Meanwhile, we could always hear team leaders yelling at workers. It seemed like every team leader tried hard to raise their already loud voice to shout at workers. I was scolded once this morning. The team leader suddenly appeared across from me and shouted, "Hurry up! Look at how many unfinished products have piled up there. If you don't speed up then get the hell out." I fell behind this morning because I got distracted, so I didn't dare lose my focus again.

Before long, it was time for lunch. Just like yesterday, workers rushed to restrooms, squeezed in line, and pushed one another on stairs. Inside the cafeteria, a crowd of people were grabbing trays and the food line was long. Just as on the factory floor, everything occurred again and again.

At 3 pm, we were given a short break. Because of diarrhea, I got to the production facility just on time, but the production line had already started moving. As a result, some products piled up in my position. Looking at my cell phone, it just turned 3:11. When I returned to my position, the team leader had already been standing there. While asking what I was doing, he did not hear a word of my explanation and yelled at me, "No one except you is late when using the bathroom. I already said yesterday that being late is not allowed. Now go stand by the door. I don't want you to keep working here."

Standing there for about half an hour, however, the team leader never came over as he said he would. I returned to the production line and saw him sitting at a corner. See me coming, he said, "Didn't I tell you to stand by the door? Why did you come here?" I responded, "You want me to stay by the door. Does that mean that I should keep standing there even if you didn't come?" He continued, "You know what, I don't want you. Since you are late, I want you to watch the door and keep you from doing overtime, giving you [only] eight hours of work every day." I explained a bit more about why I was late and his attitude softened somewhat. He asked me to write a self-criticism and read it in front of other workers when the shift ends. I refused to do this, and that annoyed him. He said, "Go talk to your labor dispatch firm, I don't want you. I am declaring it clearly: I am firing you." In response, I told him, "I am a formal worker. If you want to fire me, give me a reason and a notice to let me go, then I will go immediately. No reason and no notice, then I'm not going anywhere." At this point, the leader seemed a little helpless, saying, "I don't have the right to give you a leave permit. Go find the director of the production facility. Anyway I don't want you."

I then asked many people on the factory floor whether they knew the director or not, but no one did. Even the staff in the technical and material management department did not know the director of the assembly department. At last, I got the answer from another line supervisor: the director was in the warehouse.

Entering the warehouse, I saw an underage worker taking a break. He pointed me to the director, saying "The one who is playing with his cell phone is the director." I explained the reason of coming here to the director. He told me that since my team leader did not want me, he had no other solution but asked me to contact the HR department. Then he waved his hand, suggesting that I should go away and let him keep playing his cell phone. I then told him that I did not know where the HR department was. I didn't want to look for it. I told him that I would directly contact his boss and complain. Then I took out my cell phone, preparing to email the management of the company. Seeing this, the director's attitude immediately changed and asked me to bring the team leader here.

As both the team leader and I stood in front of him, he told the leader, "He is a formal employee, so it is unreasonable and illegal to fire him. If he was a dispatch or temporary worker, firing him wouldn't be any of our business. We would just return him to his dispatch firm." The team leader then responded, "I have the right. He was late for work and then argued with me, so he deserves to be fired. If everyone was like him, how can I lead the team?" I jumped in, "I did not intend to argue with you, and I did admit my mistakes. What else do you want me to do? Will you feel better if you lay me off?" The director then spoke to the team leader, "Even I do not have the power to fire him, let alone you." Looking at the team leader in a serious way, the director proceeded, "On this issue,

both of you are wrong. Being late is not allowed. We are working for Koreans. They are very strict. They want efficiency. Luckily, you were not caught by Koreans. Once the Koreans find you late for work, we will all get yelled at. We don't want to treat you so harshly. We are all forced by the Koreans. Plus, there's no way to fire workers since even I do not have the power." The director then suggested that the team leader to go back so that he could speak to me alone. Letting me sit down, he said, "Since your team leader does not want you to stay, I can't help you out. I can't force him to compromise. Otherwise, how can I deal with the team leaders under me afterwards? Well, I can tell that this is not your first time working in a factory. You are not unreasonable. I'll give you a chance, and you give me face. I will put you in another team. If you make the same mistake again, don't come to see me. Leave here directly. You must try hard to give me face. You absolutely cannot make any mistakes." After reminding me over and over again, the director called the leader of another team over and told him, "This guy is in your team now. Be careful. If he has any problems, let him leave directly. This is the last chance that I'm giving him. Go, take him with you."

In this way, I was transferred to a new production line to assess product quality. Here I came across student workers from Nanchong City, Sichuan, some of which are underage workers. One underage worker's ID card showed that he was born on August 4, 1997 and recruited into the factory on August 27 this year. He started working here only a few days earlier than me, but he became my trainer, teaching me how to check cell phone covers. I learned this in a minute.

Now I don't dare to talk or be late. Checking phone covers is also a very demanding job. Each of the eight screw holes on the covers need to be checked to ensure a clear hole. Otherwise, the cover should be discarded. After the assessment, the covers are passed along to workers next to me to get painted. Only covers that have passed the assessment can be passed onto the assembly line, so the team leader cared a lot about work done here. Whenever there were not shells going down the line, the leader would yell at us to hurry up.

As usual, production ended at 7:45 pm, and we began cleaning the production facility. We put chairs on top of tables, watched night-shift workers coming in to work, and waited for the team leader to hold the meeting.

Once back at the dorm, I found a coworker not in his bed. As I got up in the morning, I called him to ask about it. He told me that yesterday afternoon he was fired by the team leader because he worked too slowly. On the phone, he said, "The leader yelled at me for working too slowly. He said that I was a stupid pig. He is so rude and mean. I can't stand it. You work hard over there. I will let you know when I find a good factory." The three

roommates who just moved in yesterday came back one after another. They are working in the assembly department of Factory Number Three. A roommate showed me his finger, saying "Look, my fingers have turned red after being rubbed the whole day. I asked my team leader for finger covers, but she refused. Her words are pretty harsh. The Koreans of my production facility are always yelling and snapping at people." "Exactly, Factory Three is so strict," the other worker said. "The Koreans are always yelling in Korean and making the Chinese scold other Chinese. Also, we have to work in bare feet. My shoes were stolen in the morning. I went to buy a new pair at noon, but it was stolen again in the afternoon. The shoes I am wearing now are others." As I listened, I felt Factory Number One is slightly better. But there is rumor that we will be transferred to Factory Three before long.

September 4

Day 3

Inspection Team of Assembly Department, Factory One

Today is my first day of work after being transferred to the new group. I was doing the same inspection job as yesterday. There were workers coming in and leaving every day. Our posts accordingly constantly change as workers come and go. The team leader can transfer you to whichever post he wants you to work on. The worker across me was transferred by the team leader to the assembly line just after he began work. Despite his unwillingness, he did not dare say no.

Around 9 am, the Koreans and the director came to inspect the production facility. Once a Korean saw a sheet of paper attached to the wall across from the inspection table, he shouted and demanded that the director tear it off. The director then stood on the inspection platform to tear off the piece of paper. After inspecting the table, the Korean stroked its surface and looked at the light bulbs. Suddenly he yelled at the team leader to call a worker over and demanded to have all the work stations and bulbs in the production facility wiped down. A worker in our inspection team we called Brother Yan was asked to do the task. He was wiping the working station surface and bulbs the entire morning. But by the end of the shift, he had not yet finished cleaning all of the light tubes. (There are six production lines in the facility and 70 bulbs on each line.) Seeing this, the team leader immediately yelled at Brother Yan, "What are you doing? Are you paying any attention to your work? How long do you need to get this job done? Are you going to do this for the entire day? Hurry up. What the hell are you doing? Don't you believe I can ask others to do this? Hurry. You can't leave until you finish this. I don't have that much time for you." An elder woman next to me murmured, "Ugh. This guy is so miserable! Look how the team leader is treating him." Hearing the abusive words from the team leader, I felt very afraid too. But I kept doing my work. Otherwise I would also be yelled at for lagging behind.

Brother Yan told the team leader that he wanted to quit his job once the afternoon shift began. However, the leader responded, "No resignation application for you. Go if you want. You are so annoying. Such a little thing takes you that much time. Be quick." I felt sorry for him as I heard these words, but I was powerless to argue back. Brother Yan did not dare speak either and went back to work.

When the shift ended in the evening, the team leader reiterated that talking was not allowed at work during the meeting. We were asked to bring ID cards because the Koreans would check them, and people without ID cards must leave.

Walking out of the factory, I spent 5 RMB taking an underground motor taxi to the Yinhu community, where you can find Internet bars, an outdoor stage, KTV, a roller skating rink, and evening street markets. On the two sides of an outdoor stage, two big loudspeakers were playing square dance music. On the stage, a girl was dancing with her back facing the audience. 20 people in front of the stage followed along with her dancing. Within the crowd, I only saw two employees in the Samkwang uniform. I later found out that they were office staff, but I didn't see a single Samkwang worker during my half-hour in the square. I then walked around inside the Internet bar and didn't see any Samkwang worker in factory uniform. The same situation applied to KTV and the roller rink. Outside, I found several workers chatting. After talking with them, I found out that they came to Samkwang recently and worked as temp workers in the painting department of Factor Number Two.

At the door to the mall, a few Samkwang workers in uniform were watching TV shows with snacks and beer in front of them. I left there at around 21:30. On my way back to the dorm, I was walking alone. It was very quiet, except the sound of wind and motorcycles occasionally. The street activity outside of Factory Two was very quiet at this time. Vendors selling clothes, electronics, watches, and accessories were packing up and leaving. From our conversation, I realized that these vendors usually closed and left at 9 pm, though those selling fruit and food might remain open until 6 am. A vendor told me, "I have been running the stand for almost a year. The same situation occurs every night. Workers at Samkwang and other factories nearby stay out at most an hour after work before returning to rest. Because they are exhausted after work, workers left immediately after buying things. They won't stay long."

When I got to the dorm, it was already 10:30. My roommates were asleep. The workers on the lower bunk and the bunks across me were gone. I woke up my roommate to ask what happened, and he told me that they couldn't stand working in Factory Three. When we first started our job, the eight beds in the dorm were filled, but now only four were filled. Not counting the other two roommates who are working on their night shift, there

were only two of us in the dorm now. I was suddenly surprised by the emptiness of the room.

September 5

Day 4

Inspection Team of the Assembly Department, Factory One

I felt a little drowsy last night. When I woke up, it was 7:20 already. I rapidly woke up my roommate. Afternoon brushing my teeth and cleaning, I rushed directly to the factory cafeteria. The food served there was still fried rice with egg. Seeing this, my roommate immediately turned away and left. As for me, I had to get a bowl of rice and quickly finish it. I then rushed to the production facility.

My work in the morning was still inspecting, but one worker was gone. It was Brother Yan. A worker called Good-looking Bei was transferred to another line. So we only had two people doing inspection. The team leader then borrowed a female worker named Tingting from another team to help us. Though Tingting just had her 19th birthday, she already had a 7-month old child.

At noon as usual I went to the cafeteria and waited in line to get lunch. I saw a worm in my dish and almost ate it. I quickly asked the security guard of the cafeteria to take pictures of it. During the process, two staff members of the cafeteria came over and begged me not to post the pictures on the internet. They promised to give me a new meal. The security guard also tried to help the cafeteria staff, asking me not to take a picture since they were also working for the factory.

At lunch, I saw an elder woman in a uniform that looked like a dress. Although she wore a skirt, her uniform top was almost long enough to cover her skirt. Her thigh was wrapped with bandages. She told me that she came into the factory a day later than me. On her first day at work she fell down in the cafeteria and got five stitches on her knee, costing her over 100 RMB. Since there were no smaller uniforms available then, she had to put on a much larger uniform unsuitable for her body size. If she didn't use the larger uniform, she would have been yelled at. She said that although many people laughed at her wearing a dress-like uniform, she had no choice and felt very helpless.

In the afternoon, Tingting remained on our team to help us with inspection work. When doing her work, she kept talking about her four years working in Hebei and her experience with having her baby. Workers around her chuckled at this.

At 4 pm, the team leader told us to stop our work as the Koreans were coming to check our ID cards. The team leader and the production facility director were monitoring us, and we walked over to the Koreans with our ID cards in hand. The Korean held an ID card

inspecting machine, checking workers' appearances against the photos on their ID cards one-by-one. After this, we were told to verify our ID information with three staff members behind the Koreans. The staff found my name from a stack of forms and checked it off. They asked me about my hometown, date of birth, and the last four digits of my ID number. I then was instructed to leave. I found that all the underage workers that were hired together passed their ID check and returned to work.

September 8

Sunday, Physical exam

The factory only recognizes the physical exam conducted by the Xiegang Renmin Hospital. The health certificate issued by labor dispatch firms when we first get hired was void. As a result, workers hired in the week were asked to take the physical exam while others worked even during the weekend. In the morning, I walked for over an hour to get to the Xiegang Renmin Hospital, taking a form given by the factory. Every once in awhile, I came across a booth recruiting workers for Samwkong. There were not many people on the street, so the staff sitting behind each booth simply waited. I also came across a couple of people pulling suitcases. After chatting with them, I was told that they had recently quit their job in nearby factories and were going to other cities.

Arriving at the hospital, several workers who went into the factory along with me were complaining that the blood test drew a lot of blood. They seemed to be trying to scare me. The exam procedures were very simple: wait in line, get blood drawn, and take a chest x-ray. It took me half an hour to get through the exam. When I was taking the x-ray, some young women also came to take the exam. They were asked by the hospital staff whether they were pregnant because pregnant women could not take the x-ray. Samkwang recruiters would also ask women during interviews whether or not they were pregnant.

My roommate needed to visit his relatives after the physical exam, so I took the bus back to the factory cafeteria. Soon the food was ready. After having my meal, I lay on the bed and fell asleep. I didn't wake up until 6 pm. I had been extremely exhausted this week. I then went out to eat dinner and came back to write my journal entry. As I was getting ready for bed, my roommate came back and brought some watermelon. After eating up the half watermelon shared by him, I went back to sleep and didn't wake up until 7 am the next morning.

September 10

Day 8

Assessment Team of the Assembly Department, Factory 3

At the end of the shift last night (Monday), the team leader repeatedly told us that we were going to transfer from Factory One to Factory Three on the next day. We were required to arrive at Factory 1 at 7:40 am today. Factory Three is farther away from the dorm than Factory One. It was 10-minute walk from the dorm. When I arrived at Factory Three, just as the other roommates described, we needed to walk into the production facility with bare feet. All the workers' shoes had to be taken off and put outside of the facility's entrance, where a security guard was watching the door. The floor of the production facility was covered by tiles, so the floor was very cold. Our work in Factory Three was the same as Factory One, but there were more workers and production lines here. As mentioned previously by others, I saw the so-called Korean boss here. He kept yelling the entire morning, scolding workers through his interpreter. Sometimes he told the team leader to hold a meeting while later he yelled at workers in Korean. The Korean boss's voice was so loud that the entire production facility could hear him. Occasionally workers around me mimicked him in a very light voice.

Women and men both had to go to the restroom with bare feet during the break despite the floors of the bathroom being quite dirty. On my way to the bathroom, I went to check my shoes at the facility door. Luckily, they were still there. The thermometer and humidity meter showed that the temperature and humidity of the production facility was 26 degrees Celsius and 11 degrees Celsius, respectively. My lower body was really cold during the morning. Unable to bear the coldness, the elder female woman working next to me thus wrapped her feet with plastic bags. But when this was later discovered by the team leader, his harsh words almost made her tear up. She had to take off the plastic bags from her feet. Afterwards she put her feet on the bar under the work station.

There was still an hour until the end of the morning shift. Three other workers and I were asked to help move computers, desks, and printers in the assembly department of Factory One. Over there, several workers were disassembling work stations of the department while some others were organizing materials inside the production facility and moving out waste items.

I had lunch in Factory Two's cafeteria. Although this cafeteria was much larger than the one in Factory One, it was more crowded than at lunchtime. Food trays were still piled up on a table close to the door, and a crowd of workers grabbed at them when they entered the cafeteria. The line for food was longer, reaching to the cafeteria entrance and dining area. I frequently heard people yelling things like "ouch, it's burning!" Later I was told that someone was burnt by spilled hot soup. I could also hear trays and plates dropping to the floor. There were too many people in this space, and some would drop their trays as they were bumped into. At the same time, the security guard got stuck in the crowd, unable maintain order. This chaotic situation lasted about 10 minutes.

It was already 12:50 when I finished lunch. I quickly ran to the production facility, where some barefoot workers were sitting on the floor. One was taking a nap on a cardboard. In the restroom hallway, a dozen workers stood and chatted with bare feet. The Korean boss was standing at the door to his office. Once he saw workers with their cell phones in their hands, he would take the phones away. Later I learned that the phones would only be returned after the shift was completed.

Soon after the afternoon shift began, the Korean boss called over all the workers in the production facility to have a meeting. He was shouting loudly in Korean, but the interpreter beside him translating for him in a soft voice. The Korean boss said through the interpreter, "Why don't you guys wear your own shoes? What can others do? If your shoes are dirty, how do others wear them? Is this reasonable? As to you guys, do you know what to do after using the toilet? You have to flush it, you know? Throw toilet paper into the trash can. Why throw it to the outside? This is good behavior. I'll tell you something: do not bring your cell phone into the production facility. Do what I say, even if you don't understand why. Don't bring your handbags into the production facility. Otherwise, I would think that you are taking out products. I can easily find out if you carry your cell in your pocket. So like I said, don't bring your cell phone. I have said this very clearly, so don't blame me if you are discovered next time.

"Wear the ID card when you come into the production facility. Don't tell me you forget. If you don't wear the card, I would think that it is some strangers taking products out. Don't excuse yourself by saying you know me or I know you. To me, the employee card is the most important. Don't tell me that you have been working here for one or two years. I don't know you without the card. Plus, don't attach other pictures on the front of the card. Tear off all the nonofficial photos. We will clean out the shoe closet for you. You must take care of your own cabinet. Also, don't draw or write on the production line. Pay attention to my words: don't write or draw randomly on factory property. The tape on the workstation must be torn off when you finish the shift. Don't stick any other material on the line. Things like gum and candy cannot be thrown randomly. Let me emphasize this: there are trash bins. Throw your trash into the bin. Do your best to follow the rules. These are basic requirements for your job, and every one of you can obey them.

"Now I have said all the things clearly. Afterwards I may ask you to repeat what I have just said. I'll stress it one more time: obey the rules. Now go back to your posts."

After the meeting, the Korean boss then had a meeting with team leaders. Listening to the loud, threatening voice of the Korean boss, standing on the freezing floor, a day of exhausting and hectic work finally came to an end.

September 12 Day 10

Inspection Team of the Assembly Department, Factory Three

In the morning I handed in a resignation application to the team leader. As soon as he saw that the application letter was crumpled, he instantly turned me down, saying that the Korean boss absolutely would not approve it. He also asked where I got the resignation letter. Other coworkers were amazed when they learned that I had a resignation letter because for them, getting a resignation letter was not an easy job. I told the team leader that I could copy the original crumpled letter. But he said that the Korean boss could instantly tell that it was copied, which would be worse. I then begged the leader to give me a shot. He agreed, but only allowed me to do so after the end of the shift, when all the day shift workers left. He didn't explain the why.

For the whole day, I was hoping to resign smoothly in the evening, so I worked harder. Incidentally, I saw that the boss's desk was not far away from our production line.

The morning shift ended at noon. I saw the Korean boss charging his cell phone. Maybe it was because he spoke no Chinese and he needed to call his interpreter for everything.

I waited the entire day for the shift to end. After the evening shift, the team leader called us over to have a meeting since our team had a few new workers today. The leader reiterated that bringing cell phones were prohibited as well as other work-related matters.

After the meeting, I followed the team leader, but he told that this was not the time and asked me to wait a while. I waited at the door anxiously. Waiting was painful. I was afraid that the leader would not come, but I also believed that the leader was a man of his word. The leader did not come back until 20:40. He then led me to the production facility to see the Korean boss, me walking barefoot and carrying my resignation letter. The leader told me that I must bow and hand in the letter to the boss with both hands and that I must say thank you politely after the boss signed.

Coming into the boss's office, I found him sitting there alone. Another worker was also waiting for him to sign. The leader held my resignation application with both hands and bowed in 45 degree to the boss. The boss took over the letter and quickly skimmed it. He then went to look for a pen to sign. The leader responded very quickly as he immediately took out his own pen and handed to the boss. In a second, the boss signed his name on my application. In the end, the leader and I thanked the boss and bowed before we left. The leader asked me to give him the letter, saying that it needed to be turned into the administrative staff.

I stopped worrying after getting the letter signed. At the same time, I also experienced how difficult it was for Samkwong workers to resign. It was difficult both to find a

resignation form and to get the boss's personal signature. When I walked out of the production facility, it was 9 pm. I tried several times to clock out but failed. Later I learned that the production facility had posted a notice which stating that people who had not verified ID information with the HR department would have their finger prints cleared out in the system. This would be categorized as self-resignation.

September 13 Day 11

Inspection Team of the Assembly Department, Factory Three

I rose up earlier this morning because it was my last day working in the production facility. As usual, I rose up at 7:00, brushed my teeth and washed my face at 7:20, and then walked to the factory entrance.

Unfortunately, I was stopped by a security guard because I did not bring my worker ID. I then realized that I took the card out of my pocket when doing my laundry. This morning as I left the dorm in a hurry, I forgot to take the card with me. I rushed all my way back to the dorm, grabbed the card, and then ran quickly back to the factory. Running to the cafeteria, I only saw few people there eating their breakfast, which was still fried rice with egg and boiled leftover rice. I quickly took some bites and threw them away. I ran to the production facility to clock in, but it failed again. I was surrounded by a huge crowd of workers who were also trying to clock in. Many people were trying to simultaneously trying to push their fingers onto the fingerprint recording machine. Seeing this, I quickly left without getting clocked in. When I got to the facility, the team leader and other workers were already sitting there, waiting for the line to begin. Taking a look at the time, it was 7:58. Before I had a second to catch my breath, the line started running. We could constantly hear the team leader scolding and rushing workers, and the Korean boss yelling loudly.

During the break time at 10 am, I hurriedly went to ask the team leader why I failed to clock in. He did not have the answer but told me to ask administrative staff. So found the staff office in the assembly department. After listening to my issue, the staff member said that my team leader had given my resignation letter to her, but she had no idea why I couldn't clock in. She told me to ask the HR department and let them know what was going on.

I followed the directions that the she gave me and found the HR department. After explaining my reason for going there, I was told by an HR officer that the people who were in charge of attendance and clocking in were absent. All of them were dealing with the Korean Samsung clients and assisting them in checking workers' ID cards. I was told

to come again early tomorrow morning. After this, I rushed back toward the production facility. On the way I saw the HR officer who had interviewed me before and asked him whether he was in charge of attendance. Saying no, he told me that the person I was looking for was a woman. He further told me that all the staff today was very busy meeting with Korean Samsung clients, so I should come tomorrow. I then went on to tell the officer what had happened to the staff in the assembly department. She told me to solve the problem first with the HR department and then come to complete resignation procedures and return my worker IDs, factory uniform, and copy of my bank card.

At around 4 pm, the team leader announced that all the workers under 30 years old must have their worker IDs checked. The scenario was almost the same with the one on the 5th. The only difference was the staff overseeing it. The Korean boss and other Korean managers stood aside. The workers lined up and came to a female Samsung employee one-by-one. The woman took our IDs and swiped them in a machine in her hand, saying nothing. Other staff members then had workers verify their ID information. Because I had not had the second ID check, the factory announced that I had self-resigned. So my name was not on their list. As for other workers, their names were first looked for on the list and then checked off. They could leave after answering a few questions. The whole process did not end until 5 pm, at which point workers could leave to have dinner.

September 14 Day 12

Resignation Procedures

My body clock woke me up at 7 am as usual. I followed my roommate to the cafeteria. Disliking the food there, he went to a street vendor to have some noodles. I went alone to the cafeteria to eat my last breakfast at Samkwang. It was 7:30 am, but today's breakfast—boiled noodles—already ran out, so the cafeteria was cooking some more. After nearly five minutes of waiting, the noodles finally came out. Almost at the same time, the workers waiting there took out their chopsticks to pick up the noodles. Quickly I took a shot of this unforgettable scene. I didn't move until all the others got their noodles. Scooping out a few strands, I added some water to them and swallow my simple breakfast down.

I returned to Factory One after having breakfast in Factory Two's cafeteria. At the entrance, the security guard asked me to take out my cell phone. (Note: the moment they began working in Factory One, workers were required to stick tags over their cell phone cameras. The factory also put up announcements on this issue at the door of the factory. The security guard would check workers' cell phones anytime and cover their cameras with tags. Without the tags covering the cameras, workers were not allowed to enter the factory.) I had become acquainted with the security guards after working here for a

couple of days, so I was let in pretty smoothly. After I explained my issue to the attendance personnel, she let me stay and wait. Within a minute, quite a few workers came in to ask why they failed to clock in and ask questions about resignation and attendance. Right at that moment, a man who had the air of being in charge asked us what we were doing there. The HR employee then explained to him about each of our troubles. The man responded to us one-by-one as quickly as possible and sent us out.

Getting the response, I went to the administrative personnel of the assembly department. Fearing that she was not in the office, I hastily ran into the production facility, but I forgot to take off my shoes. So on my way I was stopped by a security guard and yelled at. I apologized and quickly took off my shoes in front him. Carrying my shoes in hand, I went to see the office worker and returned my worker ID, uniform, and a copy of my bank card. I asked her about my trouble with taking attendance. She said that the team leader and her would deal with it. She then made sure that I was living in the factory dorm. I was finally able to leave the factory after getting a check-out permit.